127=1



## INVOICE CHECK LIST

## MKULIRA Subproject

At Date of Original - Authorization	Period Covered	'Pime Extended To	Allotment Number	Amount of Ogligation
6 oct 1150			1575-1009-1902	7,490.00
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Additional Authorizations	Period Covered	Time Extended To	Marier	Coligation

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TO: TSS/OC	
1. Date of Obligation	:N/A
2. Purpose of Proje	ct: To study open
t voting record	s or registered
voters over a	year period.
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3. Progress to Date:	Project being
initia	
4. Expiration Date:	
5. Project Monitor.	URAN A
FROM: TSS/CD	
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127 03

No. \_\_\_\_\_\_\_

Object Class \_\_

Date	Remarks and References	Obligations Incurred	Obligations Liquidated	Unliquidated Balance
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31 OCT	derouse *1		7490.00	
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MEMORANDUM	<b>FOR</b> :	CHIEF, PIR	ANCE DIVISION
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AIY :

TED/Budget Officer

SUBJECT

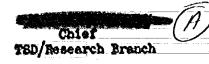
Project MULTRA, Subproject 127 Invoice No. 1, Allotment 1125-1009-1902

1. Invoice No. 1 is attached covering the above subproject. Payment should be made as follows:

> Cashier's check in the amount of \$7,490.00 bank, payable to the

2. The check should be forwarded to Chief, TSD/Research Branch, through TSD/Budget Officer, no later than Thursday, 10 November 1960.

3. This is a final invoice. However, since it is anticipated that additional funds will be obligated for this project, the files should not be closed.



Invoice & Certifications

Distribution:

Attached:

Orig & 2 - Addressee

1 - TSD/FASS









9

INVOICE

for Bervices		\$1,490.00	
			V
	ertifications		
1) It is hereby certified	d that this is Inv	oice No. 1 appl;	ying to
uboroject No. 127 of MOUL	TRA, that performer	nce is satisfac	tory,
hat services are being ac	complished in acco	rdence with mut	<b>[8]</b>
greements, that a detaile	d agenda of the pay	yments and rece	novment
ile in TSD/RB, that this hereof has not yet been m	ortr is lust saw c	OLIGOO SUM SUSO	Nolmana
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2) It is hereby certifico. 127 of MCULTRA Which W	o toat tuta tutoto	a abbiter to on	oprojece olect is
eing carried out in accor	dance with the mem	orandumor 13 Ap	ril 1953
roa the DCI to the DD/A,	and the extension	of this authori	ty in
ubsequent memoranda,			**************************************
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	Researc	h Director	
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March 6, 1962

Accounting of

10		
Salaries of Coding Assistants	\$ 5,707.13	
Travel	26.75	
I. B. M. (25,000 cards)	1,194.64	e de la composição de la La composição de la compo
Office Supplies, paper, postage etc.	.591.85	
Total Expenditures	\$ 7,520.37	
Total Grant	7,490.00	
	\$ ( 30.37)	
	Travel  I. B. M. (25,000 cards)  Office Supplies, paper, postage etc.  Total Expenditures	Travel 26.75  I. B. M. (25,000 cards) 1,194.64  Office Supplies, paper, postage etc. 591.85  Total Expenditures \$ 7,520.37

This is a true statement of the accounting of shown by the University

I have examined and approved the submitte expenditures.

Dater 4/5/62

127,

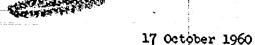
## RECEIPT

Receipt is hereby acknowledged of the following check:

Treasurers Check No. 86223, dated November 7, 1960, in the amount of \$7,490.00, drawn on the payable to the

Date: Nov. 14 1960





MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD SUBJECT : Conference with Chief Regarding 1. At 0945 this date I met with to brief him upon support of research proposal. who had only incidental interest in the proposal, was obviously intrigued by and its mentioned that the desks had been given increased responsibility for He impressed me as a creative thinker, and began, during the talk, to spin a number of feasible operations that would use expressed the desire to write up some of his ideas in the form of projects. I offered the counter-suggestion that once he had his mental ducks in a row, it might prove useful for him to meet and others from

A

TSD/Research Branch

TO MENT OF THE PERSON OF THE P

127 08

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT :

: Project MKULTRA, Subproject 127

1. It is requested that Subproject 127 be approved to support the research work of to study the open voting records of registered voters over a fifty year period.

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitudinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a
considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to

In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behavioral characteristics of people.

3. This project will be funded through the for security and cover purposes. The accounting for funds expended shall conform to the established procedures of that organization. Title to any permanent equipment shall remain with the in

4. The total cost of this project for a period of one
year is estimated to be \$7,490.00 as indicated in the attached



budget. Charges should be made against Allotment Number 1525-

1009-1902.

5. No cleared or witting persons are concerned with the

conduct of this project.



Chief TSD/Research Branch

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:



Research Director

GR 967 1960

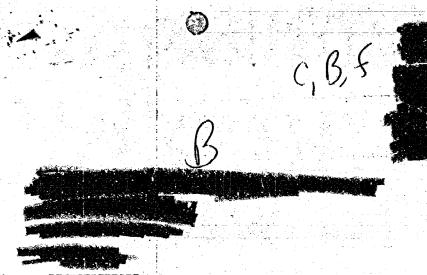
Attachment: Proposal

Distribution:

Original only







Gentlemen.

Enclosed please find 10 copies of the outline for our project "Voting" for which we ask you for a support to the amount of dollars 7,490. If you find it possible to finance this research it will be executed by my research assistant as principal investigator under my supervision as head of the

The present research project is different from, although related to, the one presented briefly to you earlier. The reason is that we have in the meantime discovered the existence of this unique documentary material, which is described in the butline, and we think that an analysis thereof should proceed and hence benefit a study of contemporary political changes. I may note that we have not asked any other foundation to support this project. So far our experience with foundations has been that they react unfavorably to research in the field of political sociology.

I remain at your disposal for any further information you might desire regarding the present project.

Sincerely yours,

e F

8



6 October 1960

MEMORARDUM FOR:	COMPTROLLER
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ATTENTION

| Finance Division

BUBJECT

1 MAULITA, Subproject 127

Under the authority granted in the memorandum dated 13 April

1953 from the DCI to the DD/A, and the extension of this authority

in subsequent memorands, Subproject 127 has been approved and

\$7,590.00 of the over-all MOULTRA project funds has been obligated

to cover the subproject's expenses. This obligation of funds should

be charged to Allotment 1525-1009-1902.

f]

Chief TSD/Research Branch

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ROTHO BULEIXOHIUA

APPROVED FOR OBLIGATION OF FUNDS:

Research Director 980

Dates

Distribution:
Orls & 2 - Addresses

1 - TSD/CC

)1 - TSD/FASS



MEMORANDUM FOR: THE RECORD

SUBJECT S: Approval of Funds to Support Study of Voting Behavior

ATTENDANCE A: D

Drs.

6. C, F

SUMMARY 1. Request for \$7,490.00 to support the proposal to study

2. This study of voting is an attempt to do a longitudinal study of the factors that affect the voting of people over a considerable period of time. The results of the study could contribute to

In addition the data represents a unique gold mine of information to study some of the fundamental behav-

ioral characteristics of people.

3. Funds will be affected through the mechanism. Project participants will remain unwitting of true sponsor.

TSD/Research Branch

Distribution: Orig & 2 - TSD/RB

TSD/RB/MAN (29 Sept 60)

127-Bane

September 15, 1960

MEMORANDUM TO: SId G.

SUBJECT: Project Proposal, Category B.

Attached is a proposal from

during our visit there last October. You will note in the comment from
that caution is recommended, principally for security reasons and only secondarily for
methodological reasons. His point is well taken as are the detailed criticisms by

My predisposition to support this category B proposal rests
on three considerations: a) methodological questions do not outweigh the basic potential
this project has, b) lengthy correspondence with the investigator has us partially
committed to some kind of support, and c) the small amount of money requested is a
good investment in international research

I do not believe we can be damaged institutionally by supporting this kind of research. I recommend that it be funded.

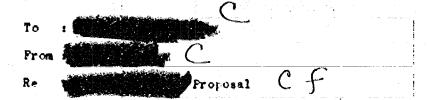
C,F

Enclosure:

C

w 7

August 19, 1960



To begin with, let me excress my unstinting and unqualified enthusiasm for the general concept behind the project. Though we know very well that there is little hope that we will ever be able to conduct a real longituinal study, covering several decades, we have often spoken about the need for such a study. This proposal fills a gap; it does so by utilizing data-already in existence. The costs seem minimal, the opportunity unique, and the promise great. The data ought to be exploited.

To exploit fully the unique data requires, however, a more complete statement of what the analysis of "the individual act of voting" contributes over and above what could be inferred from an analysis of voting statistics by election districts, differentiated according their ecology. Usually the impact of the "political situation" on various dategories of voters is inferred from aggregate data. Such inference can be made only on the assumption that the factors revealed on the aggregate level operate on the whole and as a rule on the individual level as well. The proposed project offers an opportunity to test this assumption by examing a series of election. It is capable of locating the individuals (i.e. their social status) who account for heightened or slackened interest and for changes in the alignment.

In this same wain, I should like to see a somewhat clearer indication of just how the panel data will be employed. For example, the proposal (page 4) mentions the influence of early commitments on later behavior as a factor contributing to stability or instability. I doubt that we need to reiterate the finding that the voting history of an individual more often exhibits an underlying stability than erratic changes. That we need to examine in greater detail is the fact that rolitical change is always the result of two factors which have not as yet been sufficiently extracted; individual turnover and population succession. I would be interested in knowing how important changes in the voting consistion (due to aging and mortality, migration, activation of nonevoters, etc.)

Associated with individual switches.

Pirthermore, I would be immensely interested in a comparison of stable voters whose carty lovalties showed no change and floaters who switched one or more times. How important are events and personalities as opposed to status maximum mobility:

The important at this, but there is a tendency to confuse conditions that make for stability in the party system with factors that make for stability in the importance of keeping the two separate is indicated by a proposition, that recently has found wide acceptance, namely that the floaters are an element that accounts for stability in the system



because they and as "mediators" and because party appeals are addressed to the tenuously committed "center."

The hypothesized relationship between turnout and consensus, on the one hand, and the importance of different kinds of issues and personalities, on the other, fascinates me, especially when the differential impact of issues, personalities, etc. on different categories of social status is considered.

I have the following reservations. The proposal fails to indicate fully how the panely design is auxited to be applied to the problem of generations and political phange. The questions given as illustrations (e.g. coints 1 and 2 on page 4) tend to emphasise static and cross-sectional analysis of aggregate data. I would like to see a clearer indication of how data about individual voters will be employed.

Nor does it strike me that a technically refined analysis of the press and other political records, which is of necessity deals only with a highly select sample, would rive a more reliable assessment of the "political situation" that dominated an election than the use competent histories. The energies and resources could be better employed in a more complete statistical analysis of the voting behavior, which might in turn clarify the forces which moved the electorate.

I am altogether at a loss taximax at the methion of records of personal political discussion. The description of the data gives no hint of how such a record is to be obtained.

Similarly, I fail to see how the "emergence of leadership-followership traits" is to be explored. What is the reference to the records of approximately 3,000 persons? I think that this kind of long-term panel design should not be used to gage what happens during a single campaign. The Lazarsfeld-type of panel, based on interviews, is a much better tool for this.

The sample figure of 25,000 seems entirely reasonable in view of population nortality and the number of variables to explored. But I am confused about the 3,000 figure mentioned on page 4 (bottom): Also, I take it that individual voting records are to collated with individual census data. Yet, page 2 # A refers to the voting records of all eligible voters but mentions census records for voters only.

A rather minor point related to the statement on the bottom of page 3.

Do the criteria really eliminate only 5 to 10 per cent of the male adult population.

Elimination of the 21 to 30 year age group would, in view of the then prevailing

life expectancy, but the figure much higher.

Let me summarise that, notwithstanding the many questions I have, the study fascinates me. 100 major innovetion would the use of individual data in a long-run longitudinal study. I should like the hypotheses which relate to the outcome of specific elections and to major political trends requirement the panel design to be spelled out in greater detail. It would then be possible to test them both on the individual data and on the statistics for various districts and regions in the slucidation of findings obtained by the more conventional methods of political ecology or the panel data would, in my mind, have a major contribution to knowledge.





Comments on Proporal submitted by

- 1. Being of a cautious nature. I would be less optimistic than the investigator concerning the completeness of the precords. This is no sense is a challenge to the investigator's statement, but rather a suspicion that such records are not always kept as completely as one would hope. This is reflected somewhat in his comments on page 3 in relation to the "eligible voter." He states the qualifications of voting is that the voter metal be "male; 30 years or over, own his place of residence; and live in the district one year." On page 2, he states that in the period these districts have a total population of 150,000. The population for the present study will be approximately 25,000 voters in this universe. The restrictions of the eligible voter, according to the investigator, would only eliminate 5 to 10% of the male adult population. If the entire population were \$30,000, which I assume means men, women, and children, then I wonder if percentage of 5 to 10% is not somewhat low; and, also, that he may not have trouble obtaining his 25,000 voters. This is a guess on my part but I would think worth asking for further guidance.
- 2. Investigator states on page 1, "the availability of these records means that the political history of every voter in a given district can be followed objectively and in detail for a period of up to years, " We really should remember that to be eligible to vote, the male must be 30 years and own a house. The question that immediately hit me was how many elections could such an individual participate in? If 30 is the minimum age, we obviously will not have too many who have lived to the age of stand are still active voters, and this is the only way we can get an individual record over a period of years. He must own a home at the age of 30 which certainly would depend on the economic situation in aduring the years indicated. Thus, we must be concerned with the percentage of population that would meet the qualifications at 30; how many elections would occur, how long does the average voter live during this period. All such questions certainly bear on size and type of sample that one can obtain from the data available and should be known. before the study progresses too far, or rather before the becomes too deeply involved. In my mind, these questions must have been satisfied to the investigator but unfortunately they are not too well reflected here in the proposal. It would seem reasonable to have these questions answered first, either the first phase of the study or in a revised research proposal.
- 3. On page 2, under Populations to Study, the investigator mentions selecting
  eight political subdivisions from
  that these political districts represent a full political spectrum today, ranging from conservative to Communist. He then proposes to use these districts for the data years old.
  However, in the rest of the proposal, he does not state, at least clearly to me, techniques by which one would analyze the data in relation to present political activities or voter behavior. There would be approximately a years intervening which would not be taken

on Proposal submitted by

Into consideration according to this proposal, thus, if conclusions were to be drawn upon the detailed data from the little effect on present day behavior. The investigator undoubtedly has some rational here that has escaped me.

- 4. Section D. questions the study. Present research, according to the investigator, will be concerned with social status, ecological patterning, and political situations and how they are correlated with increased political involvement which he states symbolizes the growth of democracy. Social status, he says will be defined in terms of occupation, age, marital conditions, family size and condition of residence. This, I believe, is to be drawn from the census data--again without having seen the data. I wonder whether such things as condition of residence will be recorded, or if so, how meaningful it will be. In addition, social status term, here, evidently is not used in the sense that one might use it in this country. The population he is studying is already pretty well defined, particularly with the requirement that the voter own his place of residence. Another point in relation to the status structure of society is raised as a result of the investigator's statement on page 4. He indicates that the relation of the changing status structure and development of political parties will also be examined. That, as the gap between the top and the bottom of status structure of a society narrows, this society becomes more homogeneous in terms of social class. The political structure becomes more differentiated and more political choices become possible. That the eligibility requirements have already narrowed status structure to quite a homogeneous sample is stated before and I am not sure that a great deal could be expected from this particular hypothesis, although it might be interesting to see what comes out of it.
- 5. The political situation mentioned in the same puragraph in section D. is to be defined by content analysis of newspapers. Again, the reader sincerely hopes that a) the material is available from and by that such an analysis is meaningful. Newspapers would, at that time, particularly, be directed to a relatively small population, their influence might well be questioned. This factor would, of course, be dependent on the literacy rate during that period and the circulation of the newspapers. In addition, some understanding would be necessary to determine the objectivity of newspapers reflecting the characteristics of the candidates or even their interpretation of the statement of the issues. Even today, we doubt that all newspapers reflect in an equally objective fashion. Certainly, other sources might supplement this information.
- 6. The investigator hopes to discover factors contributing to voter's "stability and instability," as well as the influence of "early commitments on later behavior" and the "emergence of leadership-fellowship traits." It appears that this study may add some information, although it is doubted that much can be found on these records. Also, it is doubtful that we can learn much by our concept of leadership-fellowship traits from such data. This particular section is very vague and gives us very little information about how these factors would be explored. The investigator intimates that a partial answer to this question is availability of records, of personal political discussions. This is the first time these records have been mentioned and the references not at all clear. Evidently, such records are available for 3,000 people, but one wonders what sort of record one would have of personal political discussions over the years ago.

The above portion of this memorandum may seem relatively condemnatory of the study. This is not the impression that I wish to leave. We have there, as stated before,









an opportunity to examine records hitherto not available. They appear to be sufficiently unique and complete that they may hold promise in contributing to the general field concerning voting behaviors. It is recommended that very serious consideration be given to either requesting revision of this proposal answering the questions raised above, or to grant money for a more comprehensive examination of the voting records to determine exactly what can be feasibly accomplished with the data.

